

Terena

Mbayá SK11

Mbayá chief's privileges were restricted to the immediate relatives and following of the Guaná woman and could be exercised only by himself and his close relatives, the purely political aspects of the relationship are diminished. The suggestion made here is that the Mbayá-Guaná relationship was essentially a symbiotic interdependence based on kinship. Certain Mbayá were linked to certain Guaná through consanguineal and affinal kinship bonds. In this relationship the Mbayá held a superior position because of the prestige arising from their military power. The Guaná, as a whole, however, maintained their political and economic autonomy.

Among the Mbayá, on the other hand, emphasis on warfare had already led to the development of rank based on war honors and the possession of slaves or war captives. Among the chiefs a distinction was made between those who received this position through birth and those who received it through favor. Between these two chiefly grades and the slaves were the great body of hunters and warriors. Although there is nothing particularly strange in the fact that the warlike Mbayá had slaves, there seems to be, however, a functional relationship between the Mbayá desire to capture women and children and the Mbayá practice of infanticide.

The Mbayá custom of abortion and infanticide has been stressed by many writers. The Caduveo today explain these practices by saying that a mother is forbidden to have sexual intercourse while nursing her child and rather than forego sex and run the risk of losing the affections of her husband a woman avoids having children. The Caduveo go further and explain that they had, in the past, to capture women and children in order to maintain their numbers. One would expect that powerful sanctions would be necessary to enforce compliance with a rule prohibiting sexual intercourse during the nursing period. Beyond saying that it is bad for the parents, the Caduveo make no explicit mention of the consequences resulting from the breaking of this rule. It may be that this rule is sanctioned, at least partly, by the economic circumstances which, among a nomadic hunting people, make numerous small children a burden upon their parents. The distinctions of rank, the possession of war captives as slaves, as well as the symbiotic relationship be-

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tween the Mbaya and Guana can be thus correlated with the historical juxtaposition of a warlike hunting tribe and a less warlike agricultural tribe.

The introduction of the horse into the Chaco both altered and accentuated the already existing relationships between the Mbaya and Guana. Quite characteristically the warlike Guaicura-speaking people were the first to adopt the horse. The Mbaya are said to have had the horse by 1672 (Azara, 1923, vol. 2, p. 58). To the Mbaya bands the horse gave increased mobility and striking power. The more distant tribes and even the Spanish outposts could now be reached and raided with impunity. The use of iron for making spearheads, knives, and axes added to the power of the individual warrior. With increased military power came increased wealth in war captives, horses, cattle, and other loot. The social distinctions based on birth, military exploits, and wealth became more pronounced. War captives became so numerous that they could no longer be absorbed and became, in reality, a slave class. The leading chiefs and their relatives adopted a proud and arrogant attitude in keeping with their wealth and prestige and their freedom from the mundane tasks of hunting and fishing.

The Guana, too, adopted the horse. Whether all the Guana groups became horsemen is not clear. The Terena, at least, adopted the horse, took to raiding, captured slaves, and developed a warrior class and marked distinctions of social rank. This development, however, did not break the relationship between the Guana and Mbaya. Yet, it would seem that the relationship between the two horse-using groups could be scarcely defined as one existing between lord and serf or even one of symbiosis. On the basis of what the Terena and Caduveo say today, it would appear to have been much closer to a form of alliance in which the Mbaya held the superior position. Until the pacification of the northern Chaco toward the end of the eighteenth century the Mbaya and their Guana henchmen remained nomadic horsemen dependent on raiding and to some extent on stock raising and, in the case of the Guana, on limited agriculture. An incipient territorial state never grew out of Mbaya supremacy. To the last they remained raiders.

Warfare between the Mbaya and the Spaniards, who had settled in what is now Paraguay, began

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As we look over the history of the Terena and Caduveo, first as integral parts of the Guaná and Mbaya, and later as the separate remnants of these two groups, we are able to see three principal stages of development: First, a stage of symbiosis which lasted until the adoption of the horse; second, a more purely nomadic stage based on the use of the horse for raiding during which the two groups acted on more equal terms; and third, the period of the last hundred years when, with pacification, a process of adjustment to Brazilian conditions set in.

In contrasting the historical fortunes of these two peoples, we might say this: Today, the Caduveo, the survivors of the once mighty Mbaya, are an impoverished and demoralized people. From conquerors, raiders, and tribute gatherers, they have been reduced to itinerant laborers, hunters, and indifferent agriculturists. Once the aristocrats of the Chaco with a class and military organization, they are now counted among the less fortunate Indians living as wards of the Brazilian Government. This decline in numbers, wealth, and social status seems definitely to be connected with the abolition of warfare. With pacification, the Mbaya bands lost their hold over weaker peoples and, eventually, their slaves, and with this loss their fortunes waned. The few remaining Caduveo have reverted to their original economy, namely, hunting, and do not appear to be able to adapt themselves to an economy based on agriculture and stock keeping in a location ideally suited for this purpose.

On the other hand, the Terena, as the survivors of the Guaná people, never completely gave up nor forgot their age-old heritage of agriculture. Even with the great difficulties that they were forced to undergo around the beginning of the present century, they have taken up agriculture and wage work and are making a much better adjustment to Brazilian conditions than their Caduveo neighbors. In fact, the Brazilian Indian Service is considering settling a number of Terena families among the Caduveo to teach them better agricultural methods. Today, a Terena Indian is acting as an assistant to the Brazilian manager in charge of the Caduveo Post. The Terena have also maintained their population, for they number approximately 3,000, the same figure as reported by Castelnau in 1845. Compared from the point

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[Chaco Period]

THE TERENA

(Pls 1-11)

TERENA ECONOMY IN THE CHACO

HABITAT

Although it is no longer possible to determine by direct investigation the exact nature of the economy of the Terena upon their entry into the Chaco, indirect evidence points to agriculture as being the basis of subsistence. The Terena are an Arawak-speaking people and the Arawak-speaking tribes in the Amazon Basin are predominantly agriculturists. Terena myths tell of how *Yárikoyuwakái* taught the people to practice agriculture:

The Indians were hungry but they had no tools and did not know how to obtain food. The twins then gave the Indians all their tools. To the men, *Yárikoyuwakái* gave the ax, *powóoti*; the digging stick, *domé't*; the knife, *sirtian*; the sickle, *yopilóóti*; the war club, *paiféi*; the bow, *shébié*; arrows, *shéwé*; and the spear, *seité*. To the women, the twins gave the spindle, *hopéa*. *Yárikoyuwakái* then taught the Indians how to hunt, fish, and grow crops.

We know, too, from old records, that the Arawak-speaking neighbors of the Terena were agriculturists. Thus, although no direct written or verbal evidence exists concerning the original nature of Terena economy it appears reasonably safe to assume that they were agriculturists in pre-Columbian days.

The Terena now describe their economic life in the Chaco as having been based on agriculture, hunting, fishing, collecting, and raiding. This shift away from an emphasis on agriculture is understandable. The Chaco with comparatively greater sources of wild food plants, fish, and game than existed in the tropical forest, offered not only the resources but a stimulus for their use. In addition, the practice of agriculture in the Chaco was not the same as in the rain forest. The long drought period in the Chaco demanded a storable surplus not necessary in a region where annual rainfall is more evenly distributed. Above all, the Terena came into contact with Chaco tribes that depended principally upon hunting, fishing, and collecting, and a mutual exchange of economic customs seems to have taken place. When the Terena took over the horse and the practice of hunting and raiding their neighbors on horseback, dependence

[P. 6-A]

THE TERENA

on agriculture became even less important. Conditions of the physical environment and cultural contacts, therefore, help to explain the economic readjustments which the Terena appear to have made in the Chaco. 174
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Geographically the region formerly occupied by the Terena belongs to the great depressed plain of the upper Paraguay River known as the Chaco. The northeastern part of this plain is characterized by vast swamps relieved here and there by low crystalline hills. This part of the Chaco, too, has greater precipitation than the semiarid central Chaco. The Terena speak of their Chaco home as being wet and refer to dangers from floods. Although the annual rainfall here is estimated at 50 inches, it must be remembered that the rains fall from October to May, the remaining months being extremely dry. In the summer months, temperatures may reach over 100° F. During the winter months of July and August cold winds blow from the south, often bringing below-freezing temperatures. 133
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This part of the Chaco is classified as savanna, swampy near the Paraguay River but merging into scrub forest to the west, with denser "galeria" forests lining the more permanent water courses. In the past, this region was particularly rich in plant and animal life which could be readily converted to human use. Among the wild plants which were of subsistence value to man were such trees and shrubs as the algarroba (*Prosopis*), the acacia, the Barbary fig, the chafar (*Courties decorticans*), mistol, the wild orange, and a wide variety of palms. Wild rice grew in the swamps. Locusts and the larvae and honey of bees were used. The scrub forests and swamps were the home of such animals as the deer, peccary, tapir, capybara, and the jaguar. Land and water birds were plentiful, and the rivers were stocked with many varieties of fish as well as turtles and shellfish. 133
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Discussing the resources of the Chaná (Guaná), Sánchez Labrador says: 824

The "Palo Santo" is the most widespread tree. They employ the hardwood of this tree to make spades to use in their fields, and pipes to smoke tobacco, which they appreciate very much. Birds are more abundant on the west bank of the river than on the east bank. The birds feed in the fields of the Chaná. They hunt many birds [36
[223]

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 8-A]

[P. 6-B]

/25 cont. /

[10] The controversies that took place among 18th-century chroniclers, about the translation of the term Guaná, nevertheless do not compromise the interpretation that the word Guaná is but a special designation given by the Spanish conquistadors to the Txané groups of the Paraguay basin. It is probable that the term in question is a name of some sort from the language of one of those groups, with the exception of the Terêna, whose dialect does not contain such a word.

Among these Indians, as we were able to ascertain in the course of our stay in their aldeas, "Guaná" was an unfamiliar word that evoked no reaction whatsoever when uttered by the researcher. Be it noted that for man or male, for example, the Terêna have "hoyênó," and for that one they use "eneponé"; while "txané," to them, means people. However, in order to avoid any discussion which, on these grounds, would be useless, we must follow the majority of the 18th- and 19th-century chroniclers and accept the tradition of its use in ethnology, (14)

14. Cf. the works of Metraux,
Baldus, Oberg, and Altenfelder.

and /26/ adopt the designation Guaná for the Aruák-Txané groups of the Paraguay basin.

[11] As for the identification of the Guaná subgroups, ethnology faces problems of a different order. The variation encountered, chiefly in consulting the 18th-century chroniclers and between these and those of the following centuries, leads the specialist to desist from any further investigation into the exact historical position and the probable geographic location of these tribes in the eastern lands of the Paraguay River.

Max Schmidt gives a comparative table of the various names attributed to the Guaná groups by chroniclers of the [17] 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries. (15) Through an analysis of

15. Cf. 1903:328-331.

/26 cont. /

101 this table and the addition of data from other chroniclers not
 174 consulted by its author, we can infer that at best four Guanã
 subgroups crossed the Paraguay River to its eastern bank, where
 they survived (not all of them, as we shall see later) until our
 century. The tribes were: Terêna, Layana, Kinikináu, and
Exoaladi /Echoaladi/, the latter also being known as "Guanás,"
 which led to some confusion since this name coincided with the
 Guanã subgroups as a whole. (16) A /

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 16. The distinction made by
 Sanches Labrador between the
 tribal designations and the names
 attributed to the Aruák groups by
 the Guaikurú, permits us to set
 up the following table:

Tribal self-designation	Guaikurú name
"Chanás"	"Layânas" (Niyololas)
"Terêna"	"Etelena"
"Choarana"	"Echoaladi"
"Quainoconas"	"Equini Quinau"

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 648
 This table shows that "Echoaladi" is a
 Mbayá-Guaikurú word by which--
 owing to the enormous Guaikurú in-
 fluence throughout the area--the "Choarana"
 seem to have been known in the 18th
 century (Labrador, Azara, and Aguirre).
 Already in the following century, the
 Guaikurú hegemony decreased, and the
 remaining "Choarana" seem to have
 been called also by the generic name
 "Guanás"; the names "Chooronós" and
 "Chualas," which are added to the

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 [648]

/26 cont. /

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designation "Guanás" respectively by Taunay (1931:16) and Castelnau (1949:308), refer in all probability to the names of separate local groups, though of the same tribe of the "Guanás" or Exoaladi. -- As for the variation encountered in the names of the other Guaná subgroups, consult the already mentioned Max Schmidt, Metraux (1946:239-40), and Altenfelder (1949:271-72, note 1), the latter only as the Terêna are concerned. ¹/₁

101/127/ "Niguecactemic" tribe, referred to by the 18th-century ^A chroniclers, seems never to have crossed the Paraguay River to the east, but to have remained in the Chaco until its disappearance. At the close of the 18th century, its number fluctuated between 200 and 300 individuals, according to the estimates of Aguirre (17) and Azara (18) respectively. Already

17. "Diário de Aguirre"
/Aguirre's Diary/, 1911,
p. 309, in Metraux, 1946:240.

18. 1809, II:86-88.

at that time the "Niguecactemic" were a small group which the following century, to judge by the chroniclers consulted, did not hear of again.

174/165 The other Guaná groups referred to above (Terêna, Layâna, Kinikinâu, and Exoaladi) crossed the Paraguay River in successive waves, beginning with the second half of the 18th century, and settled in the area watered by the Miranda River, between the parallels of 19° and 21° of latitude, where

²/₁ [For bibliography, see category 116, pp. 155-160 of foreign text -- Analysis.]

127 cont. /

- 174 they were encountered by 19th-century travelers. It seems
 167 improbable that Guaná groups should have entered the region
 [114] before that time, as Azara would have us believe. (19) The

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19. "At the time of the arrival of the first Spaniards, they (the Guaná nation) lived in the Chaco, between the 20^o and 22^o parallels of latitude. They remained there until 1673, while a large part of the nation settled east of the Paraguay River, north of the tropic, in the country that was then called the province of Ytati; then they spread toward the south." (1809, II:86.)
 Incidentally, the objectivity of this statement is also questioned by Metraux, 1946:239.

- 175 *The* testimony of Padre Sanches Labrador is conclusive in this respect,
 167 when he notes the first migratory movements of those Indians
 [297] toward Brazil, between 1760 and 1767. It should also be added that the bulk of the migrations seem to have occurred--according to Max Schmidt--after 1767, i.e., says he, "the chief migration of the Guaná population as a whole only began at the time when the Franciscans replaced the Jesuit missions." (20)

20. 1903:327. -- That date, 1767, marks the expulsion of the Jesuits from that area.

- 114 We do not consider it necessary to give here the itinerary of these groups, or even to undertake a demographic analysis of the Guaná as a whole. It will be sufficient to refer the

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175 Indians and a large number of aldeas. (134) This chronicler,

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134. J. Bach, 1916:90.

J. Bach, merely cites those he visited, namely: Agachy, Boquehina, Marro, Marrinho, Ipegue, Santana, and Caytapé; and he states that "all the aldeas present the same type of construction, which is crude, consisting of houses or ranchos with bamboo walls and roof of straw or palm leaves." (135)

135. Ibid.

103 The first difficulty we met with was in looking for the connec-
361 tion of these names, evidently regional--with the exception

174 of Ipegue and, perhaps, Caytapé--, with the tribal names

[173] attributed by the Terêna to their aldeas. We had to resort to the oral traditions of the Terêna, and we obtained the following data which we compared with those gathered by Altenfelder: (136) Imokovookoti or Bookoti, /72/ the self-denomination

136. 1949:281.

of the local group, whose survivors occupy the present-day aldeia of Cachoeirinha, three leagues northeast of Miranda; Ipegue, the same local group referred to by the two chroniclers mentioned; Tuminikú, the local group that probably formed the present-day aldeia of Bananal; Kamakuê, the local group that occupied the area where there today the neo-Brazilian settlement of Duque Estrada is; Háokoê, a small aldeia one league from Tuminikú; Naxedaxe, already referred to by

[62] Taunay; Sinikuê, a Terêna name attributed to the former aldeia of Guaykuru Indians, also known as Lalima, and today populated by innumerable Terêna, Kinikinau, and Layâna families. All these aldeas were located between the cities of Miranda and Aquidauana, with a greater concentration near the former.

369 /131 cont. /

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The last time we saw him
in Campo Grande, he had
bought a house, still tied
up to estate inventory, and
he was trying to salvage his
money by hiring a lawyer.

369 individuals who go to the city, leave the aldeia because of
167 friction in the community (201) and are drawn to the city by the

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181798
1655

201. As a source of such
friction, an important role
is played by the politico-
religious division of the
community. This is proved
by the large numbers of
individuals channeled from
Bananal and Ipegue to
Campo Grande and Aquidauana.
While Bananal is in first place
among the aldeas, with 23.91
per cent, Ipegue, in second,
with 18.11 per cent, the
other aldeas are most insignifi-
cant, sending, in absolute
figures, one or two individuals
at the most.

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162 prospects of bettering their life mentioned earlier. We are not
174 acquainted with recent cases of moves to colônias or fazendas;
it seems that the Indians who live in them are remnants of the
population that scattered before the creation of the native
reservations.

369 The population we call urbanized is made of individuals
*177 with little or no capital, who for this reason settle among the
511 less-favored classes in the city. Nevertheless, for them city
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121 of social change. The present study is particularly compatible with this approach, emphasizing as it does the function of the Terena matrimonial complex in strengthening tribal solidarity and its role in the overall fabric of tribal and intertribal relationships. The approach particularly commends itself for its more adequate handling of "conformity" and "deviance" with respect to social structure.

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[524] Whether recorded by us or gleaned from others, the Terena material on which the present structural analysis is based was all collected by evoking "tribal memory" through the use of older informants, since Terena, i. e., tribal, social structure has long since ceased to exist. On the other hand, for all practical purposes there are no ethnological data recorded before the 19th century. Even Sanches Labrador's 18th century classic, although dealing with the Guaná or Txané Indians, fails to mention specifically their Terena sub-group. Castelnau, Taunay and J. Bach, writing a century later, are the first major sources. Still, even though they represent the best ethnographic sources of the past century, their data on the then current Terena social structure are insignificant. Distinctive contributions in this area begin with the missionary Alexander Rattray Hay, who lived with the Terena in the village of Bananal from 1917 to 1920. By this time the group was already largely acculturated.⁷ The only other studies based on field work are those of Kalervo Oberg and Fernando Altenfelder da Silva, which derive from a stay in 1946 in Bananal, and the more specialized studies of Herbert Baldus with reference to certain Terena culture complexes—such as on the mythology and the succession to the chieftainship. They were of great use in preparing the present analysis.

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1. Social Stratification and Ethnic Stratification

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[925] Max Schmidt, studying the process of expansion of Arawak speaking groups, indicates as an invariable element in their communities the presence of prisoners of war, or simply "captives". He leaves us with this question: "It would be interesting to know by what means Arawak society (which he treats as a single unit—RCO) was able to obtain for itself, starting as an agriculturally based people, the position of lords over these other population groups, who became the means of obtaining needed production. To create under then-existing conditions

[121] under which a phenomenon normally exists, it to study its "deviate", or anomic, forms. He notes further that these pathologic forms are the ones that determine the breakdown of social solidarity.

[797] ⁷ The concept of acculturation allows a two-way application: (a) as to process, by which it assumes an explanatory character; and (b) as to state or "degrees of acculturation", by which it can be used for more descriptive purposes, as in the present case (cf. Beals, 1954 : 627).

a subordinated ethnic strata, the Arawak tribes would have had to meet two conditions. They had to enter into relationships with neighboring tribes and, next, these relationships had to be manipulated in such a way that they resulted in a state of dependence" (1917, Cap. III). If this did not happen with the Terena (or with the Guaná as a whole), since they had learned from the Mbayá-Guaikuru more efficient methods of capture (of Txamakoko, Txikito, Guató, etc., individuals),⁸ they at least maintained a form of social organization that included the integration of prisoners of war—and their descendants—into the groups as laborers.

The consequence of this situation of dependence in Terena social structure was the creation of asymmetrical relationships between this Arawak group and the Kauti (the Txané name used to designate the "captives" obtained in war or by the sorties organized for this purpose). It is true that these Kauti were not always best employed in agricultural work, since many of them came from tribes that subsisted on hunting and gathering techniques exclusively. These Kauti were assigned to less technical tasks or even used as domestic help. If such chroniclers as Taunay (1931: 21) or Castelnau (1949: 247) give a true picture, the treatment accorded the Kauti was the most benign possible, indicating more of a protective attitude than an exploitive one. For an agricultural people such as the Terena, the Kauti had little economic significance. They represented more a source of prestige (political, and only secondarily economic), not only for the in group, but principally in intertribal relations with the Mbayá-Guaikuru, their neighbors and allies. These latter made greater use of their "captives", also finding in them an important source for population increase, needed because of the customs of infanticide and abortion which increased sharply following the Spanish conquest of the Chaco. Although the Terena practised infanticide, it never reached the proportions it did among the Mbayá-Guaikuru, and especially among the Kadiwéu. Probably the place given to the Kauti in Terena society would correspond roughly to that accorded strangers, ethnically different and, as a consequence, treated with a certain indifference and as objects of trade, i. e., to be calculated as goods in tribal commerce (Taunay, 1931: 21). Yet it is a fact that the Kauti, as a "class", were integrated into Terena social structure, since the structure provided the means

⁸ Words from the Indi language have been transcribed according to the convention of the Brazilian Anthropological Association, as published in the *Revista de Antropologia* Vol. II, N° 2, December, 1954. This convention attempted to mediate the problems of accurate transcription and usual lack of phonetic type fonts. The only symbols that are somewhat unusual are x=sh, tx=tsh, ch. Stress is written only when it falls on a syllable other than that stressed under normal Portuguese usage.